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IBIS 26

TEXT OF GROMYKO LETTER TO WALDHEIM

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(TEXT) MOSCOW SEPTEMBER 17 TASS--ON INSTRUCTION FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE USSR, ANDREY GROMYKO, THE SOVIET PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE AT THE UNITED NATIONS, YAKOV MALIK, HANDED THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM:

"ESTEEMED MR SECRETARY GENERAL,

"THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT SUGGESTS THAT THE QUESTION OF NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND OF BANNING FOR ALL TIME THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS SHOULD BE PUT ON THE AGENDA OF THE 27TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AS AN IMPORTANT AND URGENT QUESTION.

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AT THE PRESENT STAGE SHOWS THAT THE TREND TO EASING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, THE STRIVING TO BUILD RELATIONS AMONG THE STATES ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, IS STEADILY GAINING GROUND. THE STATES HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF CONCRETE STEPS LEADING TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND TO THE SLOWING OF THE ARMS RACE. THIS WAS REFLECTED IN THE IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS OF THE RECENT PERIOD.

"THIS FAVOURABLE DEVELOPMENT IS PARTICULARLY MARKED ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT. THE WELL-KNOWN TREATIES BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE FRG AND BETWEEN THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE FRG PLACE THE SEAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON THE PLEDGE OF THE STATES TO KEEP FROM THE THREAT OR THE USE OF FORCE IN THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS AND IN THE QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO SECURITY IN EUROPE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THE WORK TO PREPARE A EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION HAS ENTERED ITS PRACTICAL STAGE.

"A NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF THE LIMITATION OF THE ARMS RACE AND DISARMAMENT WERE ACHIEVED OF LATE. THE CONVENTION BANNING THE PRODUCTION OF BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND CALLING FOR LIQUIDATION OF ITS STOCKPILES HAS BEEN CONCLUDED. IT BECAME A REAL STEP TOWARD DISARMAMENT. THE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION ARE CALLED UPON TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN CURBING THE NUCLEAR MISSILE ARMS RACE. THESE AGREEMENTS, AS WELL AS THE TREATY BANNING NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS IN THREE MEDIA (AS RECEIVED), THE TREATY ON NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION, AND THE TREATY BANNING THE MILITARY USES OF THE SEABED AND OCEAN FLOOR HELP LESSEN THE DANGER OF AN OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR.

"WHILE WITNESSING THESE ACHIEVEMENTS IN ENSURING PEACE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, ONE SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT ARMED CONFLICTS CONTINUE IN DIFFERENT AREAS OF THE WORLD, THAT THE ARMS RACE GOES ON, THAT THE THREAT OF A WORLD THERMO-NUCLEAR WAR HAS NOT BEEN LIQUIDATED. ATTEMPTS ARE MADE TO SUPPRESS BY FORCE THE PEOPLES' STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE. ALL THIS CANNOT BUT CAUSE PROFOUND CONCERN FOR THE DESTINIES OF WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY.

"THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT, UNDER THE PRESENT CONDITIONS, THE UNITED NATIONS HAS A TASK TO CONSOLIDATE THE SUCCESSES ACHIEVED IN EASING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS AND TO TAKE MEASURES THAT WOULD HELP LIQUIDATE THE EXISTING CONFLICTS AND WOULD CREATE CONDITIONS FOR PREVENTING THE OUTBREAK OF WAR AND ARMED CLASHES AMONG STATES.

"AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION LEADS TO THE CONCLUSION THAT CONSISTENT IMPLEMENTATION BY ALL STATES OF THE PRINCIPLE OF RENOUNCING THE USE OF FORCE COVERING ALL TYPES OF ARMAMENTS, INCLUDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WHICH ARE THE MOST DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS OF MASS EXTERMINATION, IS AN EFFECTIVE MEANS OF ACHIEVING THIS END. IN A NUCLEAR AGE MANKIND HAS NO OTHER WAY THAN PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES, WHICH, ABOVE ALL, PRE-SUPPOSES THE RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE SOLUTION OF CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES EXCEPTIONALLY BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

(MORE)

18 SEP 0959Z PK/TM

FBIS 28

ONLY ADD 26 (GROMYKO LETTER TEXT)

XXX BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

(TEXT) "RENUNCING THE USE OF FORCE COVERING ALL MEANS OF WARFARE IS ONE OF THE CRUCIAL PRINCIPLES OF THE U.N. CHARTER. THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS REPEATEDLY TAKEN RESOLUTIONS CALLING ON ALL STATES TO RENOUNCE THE USE OF FORCE IN THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIPS. THE PRINCIPLE OF THE NON-USE OF FORCE HAS FOUND CONFIRMATION IN A NUMBER OF THE LATEST DOCUMENTS OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY THAT MET WITH THE BROAD SUPPORT OF THE STATES, THE DECLARATION ON STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AMONG THEM.

"AT PRESENT, AS A RESULT OF THE STEPS UNDERTAKEN BY THE STATES IN ORDER TO EASE INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS AND CURE THE ARMS RACE, MORE FAVOURABLE PREREQUISITES HAVE BEEN CREATED FOR GOING STILL FURTHER IN SOLVING THE QUESTION OF RENOUNCING THE USE OF FORCE INVOLVING ALL KINDS OF ARMAMENTS AND BANNING THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

"DELIBERATIONS BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE SOVIET-PROPOSED QUESTION "ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND BANNING FOR ALL TIME OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS WELL AS THE ADOPTION BY THE ASSEMBLY OF AN APPROPRIATE RESOLUTION WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CONSTITUTE A MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO STRONGER INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND THE PREVENTION OF THE OUTBREAK OF ARMED CONFLICTS.

"THE RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF FORCE OUGHT TO COVER A BAN ON THE USE OF ALL KINDS OF WEAPONS, BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR. SUCH AN APPROACH IS DICTATED BY THE ENTIRE EXPERIENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POSTWAR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

"HOW IMPORTANT IS THE TASK OF BANNING THE USE OF ALL KINDS OF ARMAMENTS CAN BE SEEN FROM THE FACT THAT QUITE A NUMBER OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON DIFFERENT SCALES HAVE BROKEN OUT SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. THEY WERE ALL CONDUCTED WITH THE AID OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS. THESE CONFLICTS CAUSED THE DEATH OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AND INFILCTED UNTOLD SUFFERING ON MANY PEOPLES. THE FIRST TO FALL VICTIM TO THESE CONFLICTS WERE THE PEOPLES THAT HAD RISEN TO STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION FROM THE COLONIAL YOKE. BY NOW THE DESTRUCTIVE FORCE OF EVEN CONVENTIONAL MEANS OF WARFARE HAS GROWN SO MUCH THAT THEIR WIDE USE MAY LEAD TO THE ANNIHILATION OF ENTIRE NATIONS. BESIDES, IN THIS EPOCH A LOCAL CONFLICT WITH THE USE OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS ENHANCES THE ANGER OF THE OUTBREAK OF A NUCLEAR-MISSILE WAR WITH THE USE OF MODERN MEANS OF MASS DESTRUCTIONS.

"IF THE QUESTION OF THE NON-USE OF FORCE ENVISAGES A BAN ON THE USE OF ALL KINDS OF WEAPONS, THEN ALL THE STATES OF THE WORLD WILL FIND THEMSELVES IN AN EQUAL POSITION, NONE OF THEM GAINING UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES. THE SIMULTANEOUS BANNING OF THE USE OF BOTH NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS FULLY CORRESPONDS TO THE PRINCIPLE OF ENSURING THE EQUAL SECURITY OF STATES.

"THE BROADEST POSSIBLE CIRCLE OF STATES AND, OF COURSE, FIRST OF ALL, ALL THE NUCLEAR POWER, THAT POSSESS THE BIGGEST MILITARY POTENTIAL, MUST TAKE PART IN SOLVING THE QUESTION OF THE NON-USE OF FORCE AND THE BANNING FOR ALL TIME OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

"THE PLEDGE TO KEEP FROM THE USE OF FORCE AND TO BAN THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS COMPLETELY IN KEEPING WITH THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND MUST BE IMPLEMENTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS MOST IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENT. THE PLEDGE TO KEEP FROM THE USE OF FORCE, NATURALLY DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE STATES WAIVE THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHT TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE DEFENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 51 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. THE RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF FORCE DOES NOT INFRINGE ON THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLES, INCLUDING THE PEOPLES OF THE OPPRESSED, COLONIAL COUNTRIES, TO FIGHT AGAINST AGGRESSION, FOR LIQUIDATION OF ITS CONSEQUENCES, TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, FOR THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS USING ALL THE MEANS IN THIS STRUGGLE.

"THE RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE BANNING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR ALL TIME WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT MORAL AND POLITICAL COMMITMENT OF THE STATES WHOSE IMPLEMENTATION WOULD LEAD TO SERIOUS POSITIVE CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IT WOULD HELP CONSOLIDATING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND WOULD CREATE THE MORE FAVOURABLE PREREQUISITES FOR ENDING THE ARMS RACE AND ACHIEVING DISARMAMENT. THE STATES WOULD BE ABLE TO ALLOCATE MUCH VASTER RESOURCES FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR COUNTRIES AND FOR IMPROVING THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE PEOPLES.

"PLEASE, MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, REGARD THIS LETTER AS A MEMORANDUM UNDER RULE 20 OF THE PROCEDURAL RULES OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND HAVE IT CIRCULATED AS AN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

"YOURS RESPECTFULLY, A. GROMYKO, THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE USSR."
AN UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION.

18 SEP 1035Z DW/GFE